ERIC Document Resume	See Instruction Sheet	DATE OF RESUME 7/6/65	DATE RECEIVED

A. PUBLICATION DATA

1. ERIC NUMBER	2. ORIGINATOR CONTROL NO(S).	3. IDENTIFICATION NO.	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACE BELOW
ED002052	N.A.	N.A.	

4. AUTHOR(S): Butler, Broadus N.

5. TITLE OF DOCUMENT ABSTRACTED: A Message to Northern Educators

6. PUBLICATION TITLE: Michigan Chronicle, February 29, 1964

7. EDITOR(S): N.A.

8. PLACE OF ORIGIN: U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.
ORG. ST. CITY, STATE

9. PUBLISHER OR SOURCE: National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, 6 East 82d St., New York, N.W.

10. VOL.	11. PAGES	12. MO./YR.	13. TOTAL PP.
N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	16

TELE. EXT.
INST/LOC CODE

MICROFILM COPY AVAILABLE: YES ☒ NO ☐

COPYRIGHT GIRANTED: YES ☒ NO ☐

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TYPE OF REPORT: PROPOSAL ☒ IN-PROGRESS ☐ FINAL ☐ FOLLOW-UP ☐

OTHER ERIC REFERENCES:

ERIC SATELLITE CODE

B. INDEXING DATA

14. SUBJECT AREA

15. TYPE OF ENDEAVOR: Essay

16. INDEXING TERMS (6-12)

culturally disadvantaged	school administration		northern schools	motivation
higher education	scholarship	funds	colleges	
educational policies	educationally disadvantaged		universities	
	educational problems		achievement incentives	

17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS)

Much of the blame for the condition of Negroes and others in lower socioeconomic conditions in the United States is laid upon the educators in the North who have systematically deprived Negroes of equal educational opportunities. If the culturally disadvantaged masses are to be kept from multiplying beyond the ability of the United States to care for them, northern colleges and universities must accept the responsibility to provide opportunities for education for those who are willing and able to rise above their environments.

Attention is given to the highly successful program of the National Scholarship Service (NSS) and the Fund for Negro Students (FNS) whereby students who would not otherwise have gone to college have been enabled to do so. Students were promised that, if they would work hard enough in high school to win a scholarship of some sort, the NSS and FNS would provide supplementary funds to meet all of their expenses. The program was designed not to paternalize but to give them a realistic challenge and to counsel them with an inspiration which attached education to a meaningful personal purpose.

ERIC No.

18. SOURCE OF ABSTRACT

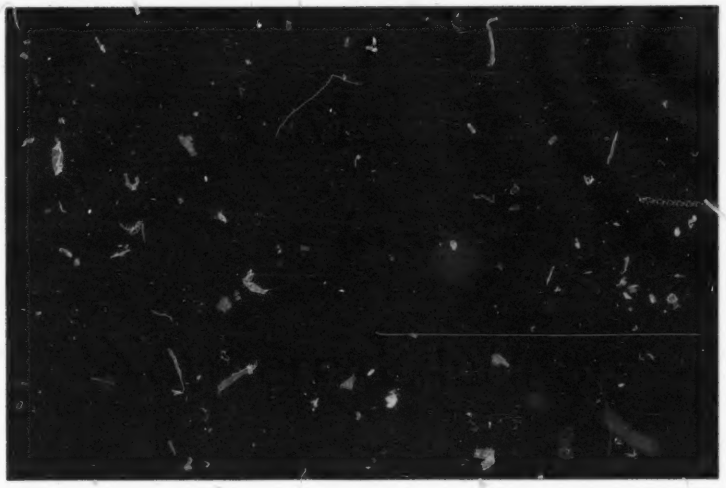
C. FUNDING DATA

19. SUPPORTING ORGANIZATION	20. DIVISION OR DEPT.	21. CONTRACT NO. / PROJECT NO.
	22. TOTAL COST OF PROJECT	
	23. DURATION OF PROJECT	U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Office of Education

ERIC Form 1

HIGHER EDUCATION
SEGREGATION AND DESEGREGATION

ED002052



by BROADUS N. BUTLER

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Dr. Broadus N. Butler is Assistant to the United States Commissioner of Education in the U. S. Office of Education. He is on leave of absence from Wayne State University in Michigan where he was [redacted] GRADUATE OFFICER, COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS.

A MESSAGE TO NORTHERN EDUCATORS was written and published as a series of articles for the MICHIGAN CHRONICLE, Detroit, starting February 29, 1964. The contents of the articles represent his personal assessment and do not necessarily represent any official position of the Federal government. The articles were written prior to Dr. Butler's tour of duty in government service and without the prior knowledge of NSSFNS.

The question is not whether the colored man is mentally equal to his white brother, for in this respect there is no equality among white men themselves . . . . But the question is: Can the white and colored people of this country be blended into a common nationality, and enjoy together, in the same country, under the same flag, the inestimable blessings of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, as neighborly citizens of a common country. —— Frederick Douglass

Both Presidents of the United States and the various branches of the federal administration have addressed themselves over the past several years to the serious and increasing problem of the national need for honest and realistic approaches to the full utilization of our national manpower to prevent a spiral toward a national collapse at the peak of our nation's greatest period of prosperity. The fact of the need for implementation of equal educational opportunity has persistently pressed itself to the foreground as the number one national priority to make equal employment opportunity and such full utilization a reality.

The basic responsibility for the success or failure of this implementation will rest upon northern school systems and universities because the great concentrations of the systematically deprived are in the large northern cities, and the primary responsibility for the professional training of teachers and the definition of American educational philosophy and attitudes has been assumed and retained by northern universities and colleges. This means that we must, in the north, face up to the imperative for an attitude toward equal educational opportunity that will be more commensurate with equal employment opportunity. It means further that the north must approach this task as a positive commitment, not as a negative problem to be tolerated or skirted by stop-gap pretensions in the hope that the spotlight will not shift north. It means that the north must face the fact that the overwhelmingly largest population of school youths in our nation are in the secondary schools and colleges outside the south, and that the first order of business is to make northern educational systems and institutions of higher education face themselves and squarely face Negro youth with the honest and frank admission that they are not doing the job adequately.

If anything, the situation within the educational structure of the north may be somewhat worse, rather than better for Negro youth than it was before the 1954 United States Supreme Court decision which declared segregation to be inherently unequal. This is not easy for northerners to accept. They prefer the comfort of having the southern system bear the brunt of stigma and the bad publicity about the ill-treatment and inadequacies in the education of Negroes and those whom they call "other minorities" (which really includes a significantly larger number of deprived whites than Negroes when the facts are closely examined).

Materials and Research Branch
Equal Educational Opportunities Program
Office of Education

We are in a period of great and heretofore hidden crises which are now exploding to the surface all around us at a time that we as a nation are otherwise enjoying the fruits of record productivity, profits and prosperity. Our nation still risks the possibility of being spiralled into a depression by the sheer increase of chronic poor, unemployable and by second and third generation dependents who are primarily victims of mismanaged and downgraded educational programs and lack of employment opportunity. Estimations of this heretofore silent but now burgeoning population within our population range from 30 million to 77 million. The majority of these are located in urban communities. This post-World War II phenomenon was not unanticipated. It has been talked about for years.

Neither government, industry, education, nor labor has more than scratched the surface toward its solution; even though increasing information and economic resources have become available to make a massive and positive attack upon the causes rather than the symptoms of chronic poverty and loss of the self-image of dignity.

There are now developing records and reports of many small individual efforts which have had amazing success. In this paper, I wish to focus special attention upon the sixteen years of quiet but undisputably effective work of one organization which took the right road and has consistently demonstrated the validity of its basic principle of approach and its mode of operation. This organization is the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS) located in New York City but serving the entire nation.

In Congressman Thaddeus Stevens' post-Civil War appeal in behalf of the freedmen, he argued that if we did not solve the problem of massive poverty and dislocation of freedmen during the Reconstruction by "Giving them 40 acres of land and treating them like a man," we were headed for another national crisis. Mr. Richard Plaut, President of NSSFNS, made the same appeal for counseling and assistance to the increasing number of socially dislocated school drop-outs after World War II.

Mr. Plaut conceived NSSFNS as a demonstration project in the form of a positive talent search among the economically deprived as the main modus operandi to attack the massive problem of drop-outs and chronic dependency among otherwise talented youth in large urban areas. He knew that Negro youth represented only a fraction of the total number of youth in this category, but also that they were highly visible in symbolic value for the nation. White youth were assisted indirectly by the service of the organization and the equal benefit to them became apparent.

The simple, sound initial approach of NSSFNS was made to students who would not otherwise have gone to college, and most of whom were already earmarked to drop out of secondary school. The program was designed not to paternalize them, but to give them a realistic challenge and to counsel them with an inspiration which attached education to a meaningful personal purpose. The program offered them a promise that if they earned their way into college, the

NSSFNS would provide supplemental grants to the extent of their need to make it possible for them to stay there. In this formula, NSSFNS incorporated the necessary essentials of both encouraging and respecting the student's dignity by treating the student like a man.

II

Let us now turn to some of the specifics of a NSSFNS report titled, *The Negro Student at Integrated Colleges*, by Dr. Kenneth Clark and Dr. Lawrence Plotkin. One of the most important specific revelations of the report is nowhere explicitly stated, except by direct inference. It is that if we make available economic resources for encouragement to education, if we provide guidance that is realistic, if we honestly open up the educational system and stop systematically denying Negro students the tools of learning, and if we honestly stir in them a sense of motivation to achieve; then they will explode to high achievement in education just as they have done in athletics and other fields as soon as restraints and denials upon their participation were eliminated.

The trouble is that northern educators already know this! The question is whether they are ready to accept the overturning of their pet theories and the relationship of those theories to their sense of superior status of northern education. They know, however, that on merit alone, in open-field opportunity, Negro students will prove their mettle; and where opportunities are real, not feigned in any educational system, Negro students have utilized them. They know, too, that Negro students have not pursued education more aggressively in the northern cities because they have known the futility and frustration of their educated parents being denied employment and promotion in the north even though the climate is legally defined as integrated.

It also is known, and the NSSFNS report provides a specific demonstration, that if Negroes are sought conscientiously for educational and employment pursuits, this will provide the only true indicator to them that educational and employment opportunities are real. The report further reminds us, by inference, that wherever barriers to opportunity have been removed, there has been a skeptical response and assessment by Negroes until the validity of the removal has been positively demonstrated. Thus, only if we agressively pursue Negro students for their scholarly merit, as we are now pursuing them for their athletic prowess, will results accrue comparable to the following reported results of the NSSFNS effort which did just that.

The first major finding was that more than 90% of those NSSFNS "alumni" of the five classes studied received or will receive bachelors degrees as compared to a national drop-out rate of over 40%. In assessing this less than 10% drop-out rate, it also must be remembered that almost none of these particular students would have entered

college if they had not been sought out, counselled and/or assisted financially. The second major finding was that financial reasons for Negro drop-outs in college lead all others. The report stated that:

> . . . financial need plays a more important role in the Negro population than in the white. Whereas 60% of college funds for white students come from family funds or savings, only a quarter of the basic [Negro] population received money from these sources, and the amount received is less than a third of the total required. More than half of these students could not have attended college without a full subsidy and/or employment.

The third and equally fundamental major finding is that: "to rely on the alleged predictiveness of test scores in evaluating these students would ignore a major finding of this study and exclude many capable students from college."

These findings and those which follow are really not new to those who are familiar observers of Negro students, but it is good that they have finally emerged in print under responsible research authority and technique. Because the following five major findings will pierce the smugness and complacency of some northern educators and invite the skeptical doubt of others who habitually take the educational inferiority of the Negro and of the southerner for granted, the points shall be excerpted verbatim from the report itself except for my occasional comments which will be denoted by enclosure in brackets:

> 1. Students born in the south tend to achieve higher college grades than those born elsewhere. This seems to refute the preconception that Negroes receive better secondary preparation in northern high schools; students from southern secondary schools have higher college grades than those from high schools in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey [and they could have added Michigan and Ohio].
>
> 2. On scholastic aptitude tests and socio-economic status, the Negro population of this study is lower than their white counterparts who drop out more frequently . . . . Nor can the low rate be accounted for by the level of college attended; more than half of the respondents attended prestige colleges . . . . By any criterion both the gross and net drop-out rates for Negro students who responded to our questionnaire are far below the national norm, with the net drop-out rate being only one quarter the white rate.
>
> 3. The predictive value of intelligence tests administered in high school is not high. Similarly, scholastic aptitude test scores [entrance examinations] are not clearly associated with college grades. It is suggested that college admissions officers

weigh test scores less, since these do not predict the college success of Negro students in the same way they do for whites. This study indicates that motivational factors are probably more important than test scores in the demonstrated superiority of Negro students in completing college.

4. Since none of the usual selective or predictive factors appear to account for this persistence, [of Negro students to graduate] the explanation for the low drop-out rate of these Negro students must be sought in motivational factors. Coming for the most part from low income families and from generally inferior elementary and secondary schools, these students seem determined to graduate, and they do, despite all handicaps. Thus, the Negro student who enters an integrated college will successfully complete it at a greater rate than his white counterpart even though initially he may not be as well prepared academically and financially. [This supports my own thesis that whether a child is taught how to aspire and whether he identifies goals with the results of learning are at least as important as what he is exposed to in curriculum content.]

5. What concerns us is that Negro college students searching for personal identity, do so in a world which stamps all Negroes with the stigma of second-class citizenship. Unlike the white student, however, the Negro finds his identity at college if he graduates; for dropping out means sinking back into low status, low-paying jobs. [Therefore] . . . we have advanced the hypothesis that Negro college students persist more because of their racial role in our society. If there is any room at the top for a Negro, he must be college-trained. Thus the modal choice of teaching [for example] as a career reflects the caste and class role of the upwardly mobile Negro, not the attractiveness of teaching per se.

These findings are borne out by another completely independent study titled "Proposal for a Revolution," in which Joseph P. Lyford reports that while much emphasis is given to the fact that 69% of Negroes in New York City (approximately 760,000) have not finished high school, at the same time we ignore the fact that 61.6% of whites (approximately 4,680,000) which comprises a six times larger numerical population, also do not have a high school education — but are twice as successful in getting jobs and earning a living.

A 1960 census survey of all fifty States showed that of 8 million persons over 25 years of age with less than five years of formal education, 6 million were white. Moreover, the same census shows 11 million total illiterates and estimated three-fourths of these are white. Among those recorded as non-white, it must be remembered that not all non-whites are Negroes. In addition, Negroes seldom comprise more than one-third of a State population and more frequently less

than 20%, yet there are only seven States, all western, in which more than half of the adult population has finished high school. In every State, at least 40% have not finished high school and in one State, over 60% have not. Interestingly, though, in all figures relating to family income, and especially the rise in employment ratio and income ratio, white figures are twice as high as non-white generally across the nation. It is apparent, then, that even education and qualification have not operated in the same way for Negroes as for whites with respect to employment and social status.

Quite apart from these facts about the general structure of things and the persistence of the NSSFNS students in staying in college to complete degrees, there are other equally significant findings in the NSSFNS sample about the academic and citizenship performance of these Negro students in college — and about their post-college life. The report states objectively that the total performance in college grades was not exceptional, but that the total performance of this group was higher than the expectation could possibly have been at the outset. Even so, 9.2% were graduated summa, magna or cum laude. An additional 4.3% received other academic honors, and 1.3% were elected to Phi Beta Kappa. This in itself is higher than the national norm. As for their post-college adjustment, most of them now live in the north including over half of those who were born in the south; 99% of them are in professional and white collar employment or are self-employed, and only 1% are in blue collar work; 25% were attending graduate school, and 20% had received at least one graduate degree; 6% had received Ph.D.'s, M.D.'s, and other degrees beyond the Masters.

The upshot of the whole study, it seems to me, is that even though it is not complete, it is finally revealing a truth which in the north has been successfully hidden under a bushel of tests, cliches, selection procedures, and superficial researches which took certain things for granted both about the superiority of northern education and the inferiority of Negroes which just is not and has not been true. It is a peculiar northern phenomenon that the poor performance of northern Negro students is maintained as theory separate from the association of this performance with the system itself as is done in the south. This helps to avoid damaging admissions about the northern mismanagement of the education of Negroes. The separation also hides the other fact that there also has been the parallel arresting of the education of more whites than Negroes by the same system of de facto alienation used to deliberately deprive Negroes.

This fact is explored from a much broader focus upon our total national survival and economy by the Lyford study. Lyford states quite bluntly and supports with convincing evidence the straightforward thesis that:

> We might recognize more generally the fact that the misuse and disuse of human beings is caused by miscalculations and

poor education and not by immutable economic "laws." If we wish to write off the Negro "problem" as insoluble because we think that Negroes are generally disqualified by lack of education and the attendant lack of incentive, we also have a responsibility to provide an educational system that is able, among other things, to deal with the causes of these misfortunes . . . . It should be fairly obvious that education is the only method by which we can overcome our institutionalized system of cheating Negroes, halt the growth of a public welfare community, and slow down the emergence of a new group of aliens, the teen-age school drop-outs. We are either going to broaden the boundaries of America to include the exiles, or most of us are going to be joining them.

That is it in a nutshell!

My honest and firm belief is that only the most naive school or university administrator does not already know this. I also believe that most northern communities are prone to still fear the competition of the Negro as an intellectual and as a full participating social and political person. This is quite a different and possibly a worse fear than the so-called fear of the Negro criminal, even though this fear is as groundless as was the earlier fear of his participation in athletics and in open-occupancy housing. There is ample evidence though, that once this fear is removed, there is no general denial of the fact that, wherever the situation is open-ended and honest whether in education, employment, housing, or whatever constitutes fair opportunity and responsibility, the Negro participant takes his place and shoulders his responsibility with conspicuous merit and with no greater attrition rate than any other American. The field of athletics is the most dramatic recent illustration of this.

The quicker northern schools and communities face these facts of life about themselves, the quicker they will ignore the plethora of theories and high sounding books which stigmatize rather than encourage the complete educational development of northern Negro youth and their white counterparts; moreover, the quicker will the demonstrated performance of Negro youth in increasing numbers in our colleges and universities cause the myths of their educational inferiority to vanish as has the myth of their athletic inferiority.

III

Northerners historically have been more secure and unchallenged in the image of their social, educational, cultural and civil rights superiority, even though the earliest American violence records are

of northern riots and denials or rights, including school burnings and violent anti-integration incidents. History shows northern covert hostility and segregation to be as deep-rooted as the southern overt segregation pattern which is a later American phenomenon and which has been more visible. The northern liberal image has been guarded completely and zealously through a peculiar system of subtle devices of covert discrimination, of denial of historicity to Negroes, and through a language infused with stigmatic and differential reference to Negroes even in polite and academic circles. There is serious question that at the present time this phenomenon may become a more serious long range national concern, particularly in our largest cities, than has been the overt system of southern segregation which is highly visible to the moral eye and to legal scrutiny. Well before the Civil War and Reconstruction periods, the less educated white man — even the immigrant — in the north could go twice as far economically and socially as the more educated Negro in the north.

For the American Negro, this northern phenomenon is compounded by the fact that historically the less educated Negro of the south who assimilated to the system of segregation also was given preferential treatment over the educated Negro. This explains why so many educated southern Negroes looked to the north, but became frustrated in the north. Even more ironically, among the many educated Negroes, not just the ill-equipped, who were being forced to migrate north to seek employment because they could not conform to southern segregation; they, too, have too often accommodated themselves to the harsh covert system of northern discrimination and subjected their children to the consequences of northern educational deprivation because they had no choice except to tenaciously cling to the hope that the north would be freer and superior in matters of education and employment. They have known better; but they, too, have feared to explode the myth because this myth was the only protection for themselves against the complete disintegration of their own self-image of being superior to the southern Negro.

Now we must face the NSSFNS report. We have an opportunity to start anew by first dealing with the basics about northern education, about its relationship to Negro and to underprivileged white students, about the differential relationship between education and the facts of economic opportunity as between Negroes and whites, and then to really move ahead from a point of responsibility and honesty on all sides. Only in this spirit will any real progress be made toward the prevention of the potentially imminent explosion represented in the massive increase of the numbers of the poor and deprived in our large northern cities which threatens to overshadow the present feelings by the advantaged Negroes and whites that they are in the threshold of inestimable possibilities of prosperity.

The NSSFNS report is different. Its attitudes and posture toward the realities about Negro students is different from the usual studies. Its results fly directly counter to most of the main axioms which

have propped up the image of the superiority of the northern educational systems in its relationships to Negro students, their educational motivations and aspirations.

The report had to be different because it told of a program which, as a college advisory service and scholarship fund, did something different, direct, personal and significant to motivate the student himself that northern educational systems usually fail to do. Then it provided supplemental funds rather than the usual small scholarships. The concept of supplemental funds gave the student a genuine feeling of personal responsibility and a stake in earning his own way and making his own future, rather than to treat him as a recipient of a dole or as a dependent upon a donor's paternal generosity.

The NSSFNS fund required the student to attend an integrated college as well as to earn a regular scholarship or some other form of initial assistance from the college or university. When the fund provided the supplemental assistance, it tried to meet the full remaining actual need of the student to stay in college. The basic principle and modus operandi of the fund was to search for talent rather than to label the student, to provide counseling to uplift the student's aspirational horizon rather than to stigmatize him, and then to add a realistic challenge which would yield as a reward a dignified economic response to his striving and need to look toward an image of educated self-sufficient manhood as a goal.

This is radically different from the presently most highly publicized approaches to the problems of poverty, of neglect, of the incredibly increasing dependency statistics, and of the enlarging numbers of wasted lives among our youth. It is especially different from the more highly publicized study by Dr. James B. Conant titled *Slums and Suburbs*. In one specific respect, Dr. Conant's study was much easier for northern educators to absorb and to communicate because it was essentially negative in definition of the Negro problem, and it did tend to support the thesis of segregation as it affects the present northern status system. It rested its final appeal upon broadened middle class educational standards. Dr. Conant subsequently radically revised this earlier interpretation of the relationship of the school system to the Negro student.

This report, by contrast, is truer in its approach to the basic facts about the relationship of the entire educational system to poor Negro and poor white students. It also focuses upon the program of NSSFNS as a positive national talent search and recovery, not under the negative and stigmatic image of a crash program which labels students as socio-economic derelicts and cultural deficients while pretending to help them.

The main thrust of the NSSFNS report is that northern discrimination and northern de facto segregation in elementary and secondary schools have deprived too many Negro students, and even too large a number of white students of equal educational uplift. In numbers this deprivation is as much as can be charged to southern schools. Here

lies the rub that may relegate the NSSFNS report to respectable and cloistered shelves, rather than to place it where it belongs in the public domain of concerned communication about equal opportunity in northern urban education.

Northern educators prefer to use Conant's study as an instrument through which to approach the subject of the urban Negro student and the "problem of other minorities." The reason for this is simple. Conant's first and merely superficial survey commands an authoritative response because of his tremendous personal stature as a scholar in another field, and because it leaves intact the old system, the old attitudes – and mainly because it conforms to the usual negative approaches focused upon symptoms rather than the causes. In addition, it preserved the paternalistic role-image for the northern white educator and appealed more to his middle class value structure than to his need for more knowledge and skill as educator and counsellor to equalize educational service to underpriviliged students. In the process, it also preserved the usual stigma upon Negroes by coining for them the emotion-packed phrase "social dynamite," while overlooking and glossing over a white population much larger, both in the city and in the suburbs, which suffers the same degree of real educational neglect and which is no less explosive.

IV

In February, 1964 there was an intensive two-day conference of representatives of midwestern universities, the announced purpose of which was ". . . to design an action blueprint for colleges and universities throughout the country in their efforts to upgrade Negro education." The conference was held under sponsorship of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. It was my feeling that the conference achieved very much as a start toward a program of action and the unfolding of a wide range of possibilities and opportunities for northern educators. I could not help sensing that the serious and determined tone of the conference signalled a radical and positive determination by the participants to see that the participating northern universities will begin to do all that they can to reformulate their attitudes and to undertake the overdue task to do something, starting now, to assist Negro colleges, Negro students, Negro professors, and Negro students in high schools.

They learned also that the upgrading is not a one way street. I detected among the participants a genuine realization that they themselves expect to learn as well as to give in any interchange between those predominantly white universities and the predominantly Negro colleges.

I could not help observe that when the participants in the Mid-

western Conference of Universities first began to talk blandly about poorly equipped Negro college professors, they realized that they were talking about their own alumni! Almost all of the Ph.D.'s and most of the other advanced degrees received by Negro college professors have been earned in these northern universities. So, they were talking about their own products and by inference about themselves.

Moreover, when there was talk about faculty interchange, there was pause to ponder what happens to the best prepared persons who for years have not had modern equipment and research contact to keep abreast of their fields. At the other pole, one could name dozens of Negro professors whose own research and scholarship will have very much to contribute to students and faculty of northern universities. It became a general consensus that northern universities as well as southern colleges should thus prepare to receive mutual enrichment from those exchanges.

The most promising observation about that conference is that such conferences are now taking place in our nation. There is serious, open and frank discussion and interchange about the American Negro and about education. But, since some of the old attitudes are still a part of the top-level thinking in many northern colleges and universities where American educational policy is defined and where the majority of America's teachers are educated, the major responsibility for success or failure of such an undertaking rests primarily upon their capacity to adopt new attitudes and undertake fresh new approaches.

The new attitudes must be coupled with a real knowledge and understanding of American Negro history in a different way than before as a prerequisite to understanding the educational role and temperament of the Negro college and the Negro student at this juncture in American history. Lacking this knowledge, it is understandable that it is still a bit difficult to adequately communicate the basic meaning of the problem of the interpretation of Negro education or of the NSSFNS report. Yet, such conferences and confrontations yield the most promising kind of positive approaches which are represented in the NSSFNS effort. And this is good.

I am optimistic that northern school boards and northern universities will face the meaning of these findings, and that they are beginning to realize that they must do so, if they are to fulfill their responsibilities to the nation in respect to the educational enlargement of both Negro and white manpower. This is particularly true because the main thrust of the NSSFNS report is that, while the Negro students themselves did a magnificent performance, most of the theories which northern educational systems heretofore accepted as axiomatic about the learning and academic capacities of Negroes have been false. Furthermore, the basic predictive instruments, particularly intelligence tests, aptitude tests and inventories based upon socio-economic status, are not reliable as measures of potential success of Negro students. This problem of tests which became serious about twelve years ago in relationship to Negro students is now bringing admissions from school

boards, colleges, testing services, and other testing organizations that tests should not be relied upon heavily as predictive instruments even for white students, and that they have almost no predictive validity for Negro students.

For those who may be skeptical of the quality of the research which produced the NSSFNS report, they must be informed that Professor Kenneth Clark received the Spingarn Medal for researching the basic document upon which the 1954 Supreme Court decided that quite apart from equal appearing physical plants, curriculum and equipment, segregated treatment of students whether in legally integrated school systems or in legally segregated schools is inherently unequal.

His collaborator in the research, Professor Lawrence Plotkin, brought to bear equally definitive studies of white college students to serve as a cross check upon the validity of the hypotheses advanced in the NSSFNS report. Even further, the completely independent study by Professor Jospeh P. Lyford of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, which was addressed to the broader problem of the total consequences of the failure by government, industry, education, labor, and even Negro leadership to find effective solutions to the problems of poverty and under-utilization of our national manpower, came to the same conclusion about northern discrimination in education as the central and single most important problem to solve. He, too, discovered that the greatest mismanagement of the problem of education is in northern urban communities. This study by Professor Lyford titled *Proposal for a Revolution* was issued at the Midwestern Universities Conference in reprint from its original publication in *Saturday Review* October 19 and 26, 1963. Professor Lyford's report is part of a larger study of Negro, Puerto Rican, and white inhabitants of the West Side of Manhattan, New York. One of his primary findings is that any positive national program to attack the causes of poverty and dependency must be centered first upon education. Any program centered upon education for the benefit of Negroes will upgrade and elevate many more whites than Negroes. This, again, is borne out in the NSSFNS report.

Lyford's report went further to warn that:

> Our emphasis on vocational training programs in high schools themselves should not be increased; if anything, it should be de-emphasized in order to concentrate much more heavily on general intellectual development of the child and on his reading, writing and mathematical skills.

Although this observation should not be too far generalized unless there is a clearer meaning of the distinction between obsolete hand skills and modern technological needs in skills and arts, it is still amazing how much the serious new findings recapitulate what Negro scholars who were ignored or bypassed in our yesteryear said even then to our nation. Dr. W.E.B. DuBois was castigated when he warned

the nation and Dr. Booker T. Washington back in 1905 that it is a serious error to suppose that you can produce first class citizens by training Negro students for menial occupations and psychologically gearing them for mediocrity. This is another reason that northern universities and northern school systems should gain a fuller appreciation of Negro intellectual history in order to more fully understand the key to the puzzle of the Negro student who must be primed for the present world of opportunity. We must realize that the nation cannot afford to pay the price of further training of any American students for obsolescence and any further imposition of feelings of mediocrity and insecurity upon Negro students by school systems. The primary responsibility for the change of direction will rest with northern educators.

To paraphrase Lyford and to capsule the NSSFNS report: We must either solve the problem to make real opportunities and rewards which will uplift and broaden the lives of the deprived and the dependents, regardless of race or color, or we, who are more advantaged, will be joining them.

Both the NSSFNS report and the Conference of Midwestern Universities sponsored by the President's Committee lay ground for positive hope and constructive direction toward a new day for those formerly neglected and deprived of adequate educational opportunity to achieve economic and personal independence.

A non-southern State Superintendent of Public Instruction was courageous enough to admit that: "The most dangerous problem now facing education in the Nation's school systems is de facto segregation." He added that school boards should promote integration by redrawing attendance zones, building new schools on housing borderline areas and establishing special high schools that draw pupils from all over the city.

Finally, I should like to repeat a quotation from Alfred North Whitehead which serves as a most poignant warning to all educators. Whether he used the word "race" generically to mean nation or specifically to mean sub-group, we can still broadly interpret his meaning when he said:

> In the condition of modern life, the rule is absolute: the race [nation] which does not value trained intelligence is doomed. Not all your heroism, not all your victories on land or sea can move back the finger of fate. Today we maintain ourselves, tomorrow science will have moved forward yet one more step and there will be no appeal from the judgment which will be pronounced upon the uneducated.

It is as much the conscious obligation of northern education as it is of southern education at all levels in these times to seek out and to positively encourage, stimulate, train and educate every possible youth of every race, creed and station in our society for the enormous

responsibilities which lie ahead for our nation. There was once a time when we could talk abstractly about education as serving the general welfare and promoting morality. Now to be realistic we must see education beyond these niceties as being necessary in the interest of national survival. This is why the National Defense Education Act was quite appropriately named.

Now we must measure the cost of education of the economically disadvantaged and the integration and strengthening of the personal lives of the segregated and discriminated, not in terms either of dollars or of cost to the pride of those who deem themselves superior; but we must measure the cost in relative terms — relative to the cost of not doing these things.

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